

## Message Text

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PAGE 01 ISLAMA 04353 01 OF 02 150816Z

12

ACTION NEA-09

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02

INR-07 L-02 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

USIA-06 IO-10 OMB-01 AID-05 /082 W

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R 150600Z MAY 75

FM AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 99

INFO AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

AMEMBASSY KABUL

AMCONSUL KARACHI

AMCONSUL LAHORE

AMEMBASSY DACCA

AMEMBASSY LONDON

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 ISLAMABAD 4353

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PINT, PGOV, PK, IN

SUBJECT: AZAD KASHMIR ON EVE OF ELECTIONS

REFERENCES: A. ISLAMABAD 3390

B. A-182, 11/28/74

SUMMARY: ELECTIONS IN AZAD KASHMIR (AK) ON MAY 18 UNDER ITS NEW CONSTITUTION WILL DETERMINE COMPOSITION OF "STATE'S" LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY, WHICH IN TURN ELECTS AK PRIME MINISTER AND AK REPRESENTATIVES TO POWERFUL JOINT GOP/AK COUNCIL. UNTIL HIS OUSTER LAST MONTH, SARDAR QAYYUM, WHO HAD BEEN AK PRESIDENT SINCE 1970, AND HIS MUSLIM CONFERENCE APPEARED TO BE FRONT RUNNERS. WITH THE SPLIT IN HIS PARTY AND RESULTANT FORMATION OF OPPOSITION UNITED FRONT COALITION (WITH BEHIND-THE-SCENES GOP SUPPORT) QAYYUM'S LONGSTANDING PREDOMINANCE IS CLEARLY THREATENED. VICTORY OF THE PEOPLES' PARTY-LED UNITED FRONT WOULD GIVE PRIME MINISTER BHUTTO VIRTUAL CONTROL OVER AK GOVERNMENT. END SUMMARY.

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PAGE 02 ISLAMA 04353 01 OF 02 150816Z

1. INTRODUCTION: THE OFT-POSTPONED ELECTIONS IN AZAD KASHMIR SCHEDULED FOR MAY 18, WILL DECIDE NOT ONLY THE MAKEUP OF GOVERNMENT IN AZAD KASHMIR BUT WILL HAVE A PROFOUND EFFECT ON THE FUTURE OF THE TERRITORY'S RELATION TO THE GOP AND, ULTIMATELY, ON PAK POSITION IN ITS KASHMIR DISPUTE WITH INDIA. THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN (STRETCHING BACK TO SEPTEMBER, 1974) HAS BEEN CHARACTERIZED BY PARTY MANEUVERING, SPLITS, AND RECENTLY SOME VIOLENCE, ALL OF WHICH HAVE SOMEWHAT OBSCURED THE REAL ISSUES AT STAKE--THE EXTENT OF AUTONOMY FOR AZAD KASHMIR. THE CURRENT LINEUP OF CONTESTANTS CONSISTS OF THOSE WHO SUPPORT RECENTLY OUSTED AZAD KASHMIR PRESIDENT, SARDAR ABDUL QAYYUM, AND THOSE IN OPPOSITION, LED BY SARDAR MOHAMMAD IBRAHIM, IN A "UNITED FRONT" FOUR-PARTY COALITION.

2. THE PRESIDENCY - A RED HERRING. THE CAMPAIGN HAS BEEN DOMINATED BY THE MANEUVERING OF THE TWO SARDARS WHO ARE CONTESTING AS AZAD KASHMIR PRESIDENT - A POST WHICH WILL HAVE SEVERELY RESTRICTED POWERS UNDER THE NEW CONSTITUTION (REFAIR, PARA 2). IN VIEW OF PRE-EMINENT ROLE OF ASSEMBLY MAJORITY, THIS CONCENTRATION ON THE NEAR-POWERLESS OFFICE OF PRESIDENT SEEMS ILLOGICAL. ANSWER PROBABLY LIES IN SUBCONTINENTAL TENDENCY TO LOOK TO INDIVIDUALS, NOT INSTITUTIONS (E.G., PARTIES, ASSEMBLIES) AS SOURCE OF POWER, OVERBLOWN EGOS OF TWO CONTESTANTS, AND FEELING OF MANY THAT GOP WILL DECIDE REAL ISSUES LEAVING AZAD KASHMIRIS WITH ONLY A FACADE OF SELF-GOVERNMENT.

3. A. THE POLITICAL PARTIES, ISSUES AND PRIME PERSONALITIES. LIKE OTHER FREEDOM MOVEMENTS, THE KASHMIR LIBERATION MOVEMENT OF 1940S AND 1950S SPAWNED UNBRELLA ALL JAMMU KASHMIR MUSLIM CONFERENCE (AJKMC) WHICH HAS HISTORY OF SPLITS BASED ON RIVAL LEADERS. ITS CREDO HAS BEEN "LIBERATION" OF INDIAN-HELD KASHMIR, ACCESSION OF REUNITED JAMMU AND KASHMIR TO PAKISTAN, AND PROMOTION OF "ISLAMIC WAY OF LIFE". IN PAST FOUR-YEAR RULE UNDER QAYYM, AJKMC HAS TAKEN UP CAUSES OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND EXTENSION OF GOVERNMENT SERVICES TO THIS BACKWARD "STATE" (REFAIR, PARA 3). AJKMC HAS NOT BEEN ORGANIZED  
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PAGE 03 ISLAMA 04353 01 OF 02 150816Z

POLITICAL PARTY AS SUCH BUT A PAST TRADITION. IT HAS BEEN DOMINATED FOR PAST TEN YEARS BY QAYYUM. EMBASSY UNABLE TO JUDGE WHETHER HIS PRE-EMINENT POPULARITY WITH AZAD KASHMIR MASSES MAY HAVE BEEN CANCELLED OUT BY HIS DICTATORIAL TENDENCIES AND SPLIT IN HIS PARTY (REFTEL) LED BY IBRAHIM.

B. OTHER PARTIES WHICH FORM "UNITED FRONT" ARE IN

EVEN WORSE SHAPE. RIVAL AJKMC FORMED BY IBRAHIM ONLY IN LATE MARCH, 1975, AND IS HELD TOGETHER ONLY BY OPPOSITION TO QAYYUM. IBRAHIM (AZAD KASHMIR PRESIDENT 1947-50; 1957-59) HAS NOT MAINTAINED ACTIVE POLITICAL ROLE DURING PAST FIVE YEARS AND HAS NOT DEVELOPED MASS BASE. WE ARE UNABLE TO TELL WHETHER HE HAS SUFFICIENT STATURE AMONG OTHER POLITICAL LEADERS TO CONDUCT COORDINATED, DISCIPLINED CAMPAIGN. SECOND IN FOUR-PARTY ALLIANCE IS AZAD JAMMU KASHMIR MUSLIM CONFERENCE (AZADJKMC) WHICH SPLIT OFF FROM AJKMC IN LATE 1960S. LIKE RIVAL AJKMC, ITS POLITICAL PLATFORM IS SAME AS TRADITIONAL AJKMC PLATFORM DESCRIBED IN PARA 3 ABOVE. AZAD JKMC IS CREATURE OF CHAUDHRY NOOR HUSSAIN WHO HAS STRONG SUPPORT IN HIS OWN AREA OF MIRPUR.

C. THIRD PARTY IS LIBERATION LEAGUE (AKLL) OF K. H. KHURSHID. AKLL'S PLATFORM DIFFERS FROM OTHERS ABOVE IN THAT IT CALLS FOR AZAD KASHMIR TO BE RECOGNIZED BY GOP AND OTHER COUNTRIES AS INDEPENDENT, SOVEREIGN STATE AS MEANS TO PERMIT AZAD KASHMIRIS TO LAUNCH MORE ACTIVE DIPLOMATIC CAMPAIGN TO FORCE INDIA TO ACCEPT PLEBISCITE. (AKLL, LIKE ALL OTHER AZAD KASHMIRIS WE HAVE SPOKEN TO, PRESUME PLEBISCITE WOULD FAVOR ACCESSION TO PAKISTAN.) KHURSHID (AZAD KASHMIR PRESIDENT 1961-64) HAS NOT BEEN ACTIVE IN AZAD KASHMIR IN RECENT YEARS BUT HAS KEPT SOME OF HIS TIES TO "STATE" REFUGEES LIVING IN PAKISTAN.

D. AK BRANCH OF PAKISTAN PEOPLES' PARTY IS FOURTH AND ONLY NEWCOMER IN "FOUR PARTY ALLIANCE". ITS PUBLIC POLICY STATEMENTS HAVE SUPPORTED TRADITIONAL AK POSITIONS ON LIBERATION AND ACCESSION, HAVE PREDICTABLY PRAISED PAK PRIME MINISTER BHUTTO'S LEADERSHIP, AND HAVE SOFT CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 ISLAMA 04353 01 OF 02 150816Z

PEDALLED USUAL PPP SLOGANS OF SOCIALISM AND SECULARISM (REFAIR, PARA 3). AKPP PRESIDENT, KHAN ABDUL HAMID KHAN, IS AGING FORMER JUSTICE (ALSO FORMER AK PRESIDENT), BROTHER OF GOP INTERIOR MINISTER QAIYUM KHAN. HAMID HAS NOT BEEN ACTIVE IN POLITICS IN AK OR AMONG REFUGEES IN PAKISTAN IN MANY YEARS.

CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 01 ISLAMA 04353 02 OF 02 150820Z

15

ACTION NEA-09

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02

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USIA-06 IO-10 OMB-01 AID-05 /082 W

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R 150600Z MAY 75

FM AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 100

INFO AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

AMEMBASSY KABUL

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 ISLAMABAD 4353

E. CAMPAIGN ISSUE WHICH HAS RECEIVED GREATEST PUBLICITY IS QAYYUM'S LEADERSHIP. PERVADING OTHER ISSUES, HOWEVER, IS QUESTION OF AK'S FUTURE AUTONOMY AND RELATIONS WITH GOP. FOUR PARTY ALLIANCE CLAIMS THAT QAYYUM'S INABILITY TO GET ALONG WITH BHUTTO RENDER HIM POOR LEADER FOR AZAD KASHMIRIS AND CHARGE HE OPPOSED SIMLA ACCORD. ALLIANCE HAS GIVEN PUBLIC SUPPORT TO BHUTTO'S FOREIGN POLICY AND CLAIM THAT PM HAS "REVITALIZED"

KASHMIR DIS-

PUTE. THEY PLAY DOWN THEIR TIES TO GOP AND PPP. QAYYUM HAS ACCUSED GOP IN INTERFERING IN AK AFFAIRS. AKPP'S RELATION TO ITS PARENT PARTY IS SUBJECT OF CONTROVERSY: ITS DETRACTORS CLAIM (WITH SOME TRUTH) THAT AZAD KASHMIRI INTERESTS ARE SUBORDINATED TO BHUTTO'S VISION RE PAKISTAN'S INTERESTS AS A WHOLE. (THE IRONY IS THAT ALL AK LEADERS WE HAVE SPOKEN WITH ARE PRIVATELY CRITICAL OF SIMLA, SUSPICIOUS OF BHUTTO'S KASHMIR POLICY, AND DESIRE THAT GILGIT, HUNZA AND BALTISTAN BE INCLUDED WITHIN AK JURISDICTION. THIS PROBABLY REFLECTS POPULAR AK VIEWPOINT. BECUASE THESE POSITIONS ARE OPPOSED BY GOP, POLITICIANS

CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 02 ISLAMA 04353 02 OF 02 150820Z

HAVE PUBLICLY BEEN MUM OR BACKED GOP POINT OF VIEW.)

4. A. ELECTION CAMPAIGN: NO-HOLDS-BARRED CONFUSION.

ELECTIONEERING IS COMPLICATED BECUASE OF NATURE OF CONSTITUENCIES: 28 SEATS WILL BE FILLED BY 847,000 VOTERS RESIDENT IN AZAD KASHMIR; 12 SEATS WILL BE FILLED BY JAMMU AND KASHMIR "STATE" REFUGEES NOW LIVING IN PAKISTAN--ABOUT 270,000; TWO SEATS (RESERVED FOR WOMEN) WILL BE FILLED IN INDIRECT ELECTION BY THE NEWLY-ELECTED ASSEMBLY. ELECTION ALLIANCES MADE AND BROKEN FREQUENTLY IN PAST EIGHT MONTHS HAVE GIVEN IMPRESSION OF RIVAL PRIMA DONNAS, NOT OF FUNCTIONING POLITICAL PARTIES. THE CONSTITUTIONALITY OF THE NO-CONFIDENCE MOTION AGAINST QAYYUM IS IN DOUBT AS WELL AS QAYYUM'S ELIGIBILIYT TO RUN FOR RE-ELECTION OR HAMID'S ELIGIBILITY TO CONTEST IN NWFP "REFUGEE" CONSTITUENCY.

B. EACH OF THE PARTIES' LEADERS HAS POCKETS OF SUPPORT: QAYYUM'S AJKMC APPEARS TO BE MORE BROAD-BASED THAN ANY OF THE REST. QAYYUM IS AN ACCOMPLISHED

ORATOR AND HAS SUPPORT AMONG BUREAUCRACY WHICH HE HAS BUILT UP IN THE COURSE OF EXPANDING GOVERNMENT WELFARE SERVICES. ALTHOUGH IT IS DIFFICULT TO KNOW REAL SITUATION (GIVEN GOP-CONTROLLED PRESS'S SLANTED REPORTING) IT APPEARS LIKELY THAT FAIR ELECTION WOULD RETURN QAYYUM GROUP WITH PLURALITY AMONG 28 SEATS FROM AZAD KASHMIR AND SEVERAL FROM REFUGEE CONSTITUENCIES. (QAYYUM HAS, HOWEVER, TALKED OF, AND MAY YET DECLARE, BOYCOTT OF ELECTION IN PROTEST OVER RESTRICTIONS IMPOSED ON HIS CAMPAIGNINGW L FOUR-PARTY ALLIANCE IS CONFIDENT THAT IT WILL WIN MAJORITY, HOWEVER, BASED ON ITS EXPECTATION THAT IT WILL WIN 12 REFUGEE SEATS THROUGH GOP MANIPULATION OF THE POLLS WITHIN PAKISTAN. IBRAHIM AND KHURSHID REPORTEDLY EXPECT AKPP TO EMERGE STRONGEST AMONG 4 PARTY ALLIES, WITH HAMID NEXT AK PRIME MINISTER AND BHUTTO-APPROVED AK REPRESENTATIVES TO BE ELECTED BY ASSEMBLY TO POWERFUL JOINT GOP-AK COUNCIL (REFAIR, PARA 2). FROM ISLAMABAD OUTCOME APPEARS TO BE BASED ON LOCAL ISSUES, PERSONALITIES, TRIBE AND CASTE LOYALTIES, DIFFICULT TO JUDGE FROM THIS DISTANCE.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 ISLAMA 04353 02 OF 02 150820Z

5. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE OUTCOME. UNDER NEW CONSTITUTION THESE ELECTIONS WILL TRIGGER CHANGE IN AKG SYSTEM TO PARLIAMENTARY ONE AND CREATE JOINT GOP-AK COUNCIL AND SECRETARIATE. THE RESULTS OF POLLS ARE EXPECTED TO GIVE NO CLEAR-CUT MANDATE AND UNSTABLE MAJORITY IN ASSEMBLY WILL GIVE GOP OPPORTUNITY TO PERSUADE FENCE-SITTERS TO JOIN PPP-LED SIDE. EXTENSION OF GOP AUTHORITY TO AK AND NORTHERN AREAS, WITH THEIR CONCOMMITANT LOSS OF LOCAL AUTONOMY, SEEMS INEXORABLE. VICTORY OF PEOPLES' PARTY-LED UNITED FRONT WOULD GIVE PRIME MINISTER BHUTTO

VIRTUAL CONTROL OVER AK GOVERNMENT AND A STRONGER HAND  
IN HIS DEALINGS WITH INDIA OVER KASHMIR. WE HAVE CON-  
FLICTING REPORTS ON HIS PLANS FOR A FUTURE SETTLEMENT.  
IT IS SAID THAT THERE ARE A FEW AZAD KASHMIR LEADERS WHO  
ARE RECONCILED TO A STATE UP TO THE LINE OF CONTROL--BUT  
THAT THE GREAT MAJORITY ARE HOPING AGAINST HOPE FOR A  
PLEBISCITE AND ACCESSION TO PAKISTAN.  
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## Message Attributes

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